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UNITY

Freedom, Fellowship and Character in Religion

LINCOLN

I think he is not dead—I think his face
Is in our faces, and his hands grope through
Our hands when we do any kindnesses—
And when we dream I think he means us to.

I saw a man stand in a shrieking street
Preaching a hopeless Cause. Deep in his eyes
A glory flickered—and I knew he looked
With other ecstasies at God's mute skies.

He was a workman, risen to a Dream;
His face was bitten as with sharp-edged swords—
Yet he had gathered him a little world
From life's loud street to hear his halting words.

And we who listened, bound by some strange awe,
Sensed the vague god shine through the dusty tramp,
Saw the dim presence kneeling in his eyes,
And that, I think, was Lincoln at his lamp.

And so I say he is not dead; not he!
He was too much a part of us to die.
Deep in the street I see his faces go;
His light is in my neighbor passing by.

—*Dana Burnet.*

"Poems," Harper & Bros., Publishers.

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOL. LXXXII. THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 6, 1919 NUMBER 22

HE LEADS US STILL

Dare we despair? Through all the nights and days
Of lagging war he kept his courage true.
Shall Doubt befog our eyes? A darker haze
But proved the faith of him who ever knew
That Right must conquer. May we cherish hate
For our poor griefs, when never word nor deed
Of rancor, malice, spite of low or great,
In his large soul one poison-drop could breed?

He leads us still. O'er chasms yet unspanned
Our pathway lies; the work is but begun;
But we shall do our part and leave our land
The mightier for noble battles won.
Here Truth must triumph, Honor must prevail;
The nation Lincoln died for cannot fail!

—*Arthur Guiterman.*

We may characterize Lincoln's bearing toward the problems and issues of to-day and say it in one word. Lincoln was the great American democrat. He was one who applied the theories of democracy, one who believed that democracy was good not only for the enlightened American but for all the races of men. He was indeed the prophet of the democracy of which he was a sublime product—clearly one of the few profoundly true, fundamental democrats known in history. . . .

We may well beware how we split the sun-clear rays of Jefferson, Paine and Lincoln in the cracked lens of social cowardice, commercial anxieties, and political half-heartedness, as we still cry "Not yet! Not yet!" They who would be eligible to a place in the "Lincoln Wide-Awakes" of to-day must believe that the writers of the Declaration of Independence meant what they said and said what they meant; must believe that the brotherhood of man includes all races, colors, and conditions of men, and that a "government of the people, by the people and for the people" can be perpetuated only by heroic acceptance of this logic and a sublime consecration to this ideal. The pride of party, the greed of office, the dread of change, and a solicitude for prosperity, disqualify men to-day as fifty years ago, from becoming torch-bearers in the advancing column of democracy.

From an unpublished manuscript. J. LL. J.

Perhaps nothing is more needed in the present hour than a re-enforcement of faith in the ultimate triumph of justice in the world. Mankind has passed through a period of unprecedented agony. The physical suffering has been unspeakable, and the best and bravest of every nation have been sacrificed—not alone on the field of battle. It is natural that a period of depression should follow the apparently futile efforts of the truest friends of humanity. President Wilson is a lonely figure in his struggle to outlaw war. This may be partly his own fault, but now is the time to forget everything but the great need of humanity. The people are surely with him, but the cheers of the multitudes do not reach him. Is it from lack of organization or obstruction of the means of communication?

Times of great peril challenge the highest heroism as has been proved thousands of times on land and sea. Cheerfulness, patience, and a courage that refuses to be discouraged are just as much needed by those who would win the world by love and reason as by the men who conquered in the Argonne or Chateau Thierry. Weary days and nights must be spent in the trenches; fortresses have to be raised to be demolished and raised again and yet again. Progress is hard and slow but

> . . . the sea
> Waits ages in its bed till some one wave
> Out of the multitudinous mass, extends
> The empire of the whole, some feet perhaps,
> Over the strip of sand which could confine
> Its fellows so long time: thenceforth the rest,
> Even to the meanest, hurry in at once,
> And so much is clear gained.

Results come slowly but the obscure work is cumulative and the gain is sure.

To quote the words of the great Emancipator:

> Why should there not be a patient confidence in the ultimate justice of the people? Is there any better or equal hope in the world?

And yet again:

> Let us not be slandered from our duty by false accusations against us, nor frightened from it by menaces of destruction to the government, nor of dungeons to ourselves. Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us to the end dare to do our duty as we understand it.

Admiral Mayo tells us that there never was a time when America so needed armed preparedness as now, and forthwith he proceeds to inform Congress that the building of the largest navy in the world must be begun without delay. This at the very moment when his Commander-in-Chief sits at the council table in Paris, fashioning the structure of the promised League of Nations! If it is true that the United States needs armed forces on land and sea to-day as she has never needed them before, one is tempted to ask why all this fuss and feathers over the Great War? Why was it necessary to beat Germany? And what have we gained now that the Prussian menace is removed? Has nothing been accomplished? Is this the same old world, after all? And if so, what are we to say to the ghosts of those ten million or more men, fifty-six thousand of them our own, who have given their lives that the world might be delivered from war and preparations for war? It is probable that we are taking Admiral Mayo too seriously. He is simply one

of these not unfamiliar fossil specimens who can live through the vastest cataclysm in history and not know that anything has happened. But there is a serious side to such an incident, after all. The distinguished Admiral is not alone. He speaks for thousands of reactionaries in every one of the victorious Allied countries, who, ignorant of history, profoundly cynical of human nature, and in many cases fearing changes disastrous to themselves, can face the awful sacrifices of this great horror, and deliberately will that it be "in vain." Whether stupid, or frankly wicked, these tories must be exposed and defeated. J. H. H.

That the navy may have no monopoly of madness, the army also speaks in the person of the loquacious Leonard Wood. This officer is talking glibly of the next war, and bidding us get ready for it, as though there were no limit to the patience and agony of men's hearts! His particular recommendation, of course, is universal military training. There is a candor about General Wood, it must be admitted, which is engaging. Most advocates of universal training urge the scheme not because they want to make soldiers and get ready for war. Oh, no! Military training has nothing to do with military affairs! Its purpose is physical exercise, Americanization, moral training, in a word, good citizenship! Gen. Wood, however, would seem to be impatient of such patent camouflage. Faithful to the tradition of soldierly bluntness, he blurts the truth right out—that military training is to raise a permanent army, and make America the terror of the world. We would like to know what this means in relation to the purposes of the Great War? We are curious to find where, in the stricken, debt-ridden, disease-smitten world, there exists a nation that we need fear. We try to gauge the capacity of a mind which can believe that at any time, within the period of the present generation at least, a government can lead a people into war, and hope to live a single hour. But we would not be unjust to General Wood. He is honest, and would save the nation from what is to him a genuine menace. We seek nothing worse for the General than that he be waked up; and to this end are hoping that he may be persuaded to run for president in 1920, on his platform of universal military training. We think that this experience would give him something of the education which Henry Adams was always seeking, and in vain! J. H. H.

This matter of the end and aim of the proposed system of universal military training, is one which it would be well for every citizen to understand. The advocates of the scheme know perfectly well that the American people have no use for militarism in any form or for any purpose. They know that the Great War, for all of its pernicious influences, has only deepened the popular abhorrence of war as a method of settling disputes between nations. They know that this country can never be persuaded to support any program for avowedly military purposes. Hence the eagerness with which these champions of military training talk about the educational and civic ends to be accomplished by this conscription system. It is interesting to note, as indication of what lies at the heart of the matter, that this kind of advocacy is not without excellent precedent. In a recent letter from the Prince of Monaco to Kaiser Wilhelm II, published by the Associated Press, appears the following sentence, "When I condemned the militarizing of a people as stunting individual development, you described to me the advantages of such a form of national education, outside of its purely military objects. . . ." The Kaiser, in other words, understood the game. He knew how to draw the herring over the trail. With results written in blood the world around! Universal military training, in the United States as in Germany, can have but one purpose—the making of citizens into soldiers! Universal military training, with Americans as with Germans, can have but one end—the militarization of a great people!

J. H. H.

A correspondent calls our attention to "a piece of evidence bearing out the contention of UNITY that sympathy between individuals of different nations is more natural and spontaneous than enmity." In a Boston paper is an account, dated December 26, of the rule of the Christmas spirit in Rhineland. The writer tells of the Christmas tree in the American doughboys' barracks, of the gifts given by these same boys to the little German children by whom they are adored. He says, "Where is the kid who has not his doughboy pal?" Why is it that President Wilson who did more than any other man to crush Germany's hope of victory would, if he appeared, receive a welcome that would astound the world? He tells us why in his closing paragraph:

> Oh, I have heard that is all part of a deep-laid plot. But what of deep-laid plots knows the little boy who steps shyly from the sidewalk and then, with growing confidence, to the side of an American soldier, and placing his hand on the butt of a Yankee rifle, marches proudly down the street? Yes, the Germans turn hopefully to America because the doughboy buys a Christmas present for a little enemy. Germany and the German people turn to America because America is full of Christmas spirit.
>
> Seated here by the side of the Rhine and hearing the strains of "America" echo back from the historic hills, one wonders if those echoes will not vibrate for a long, long time. I know something of the crimes of Germany, something of the hateful traits of Germany—cancers they are—and Germany needs a physician, the Great Physician, the secret of whose skill is the spirit of Christmas, the spirit of Christmas, 1918, on the Rhine.

The following lines published in "The Tragedy of Armenia" by Bertha S. Papazian; translated from the "Lullaby of Mother Armenia" (by Archag Tchobanian), belongs to the scripture of Humanity. It is the spiritual distillation of the sufferings of that heroic race. The translation is by Alice Stone Blackwell:

Lift up thy head, weep not! Holy is Grief,
And great and wholesome. Earth naught nobler knows
Than is the victim brave beneath his cross.
'Tis in the shadow that dawn-light grows.

The black destroyers, the red torturers
Shall vanish—they like smoke shall disappear,
And from thine ashes thou shalt rise again,
Made young by suffering, radiant, bright and clear.

. . . . . .

Thou shalt come forth triumphant from these shades;
Stars shall thine eyes become, and sparkle bright;
Thy wounds to radiant roses shall be changed,
And from thy whitened hair shall spring forth light.

Thou at the opening of the ways shall stand,
And break the bonds that held thee down in gloom.
O Mother, rise! thy pains were childbirth pangs;
It is a world that stirs within thy womb!

Frenchmen Who Have Helped to Solve Our World Problem

The average Frenchman, for four years overdoubtless given little thought to the admirable program for a League of Nations recently presented to M. Clemenceau by that far-sighted statesman, M. Bourgeois, chairman of the French commission on that subject. Possibly the average Frenchman may not realize that of all people he should take pride in the historic precedents which his country furnishes the world for the plan of a League of Nations. Back in the days of Dante, a Frenchman, Pierre DuBois, whom a modern editor, M. Langlois, calls "the greatest ideologist and the greatest journalist of the Middle Ages," forestalled by six centuries the plans elaborated at the Hague Conference. This man from Normandy, after sitting at the feet of the great St. Thomas of Aquinas in Paris, became a royal advocate in the city of Coutance and brilliantly supported the claims of the crown against those of the Papacy. A treatise written by him in 1305, entitled "De Recuperatione Terrae Sanctae," a rare copy of which is in the writer's possession, has never so far as known been translated into English. The noted German pacifist, Professor Schücking of Marburg University, in a brochure written upon DuBois some time before the war, lauds the profound insight of DuBois, who perceived that Dante's dream of a universal empire must be replaced by that of a world based upon republican principles. He planned for a permanent tribunal of arbitration essentially like that adopted in 1899 at the Hague.

The "Great Design" of Henry IV of France was the first practical comprehensive plan in modern history for the federation of Europe. This greatest of all French kings, the contemporary of Queen Elizabeth, and of William the Silent, living through the period of the destruction of the Spanish Armada, his own life cut short by the assassin's hand, was a king of vision as to world policies. The authorship of the "Great Design" is by some critics attributed to his great minister Sully, who presents the plan in his Memoirs as that of the king. But in either case, it is the work of Frenchmen, and one in which, according to the best testimony, the king took a great share. Of this Great Design, the Abbé Saint-Pierre said, "If he (the king) had been so happy as to have executed this design, it would have rendered him beyond all comparison the greatest man the world ever has produced, or probably ever will produce."

In a paper on "The United States of Europe," published by Edward Everett Hale in 1871, he enthusiastically urged upon Americans the study of the Christian Commonwealth conceived by the great king. He thus summarized the plan of the "Great Design" for a Europe of fifteen countries to contain only one army. "The chief business of this army was to keep the peace among the States and to prevent any sovereign from interfering with any other, from enlarging his borders, or other usurpations. This army and the navy were also to be ready to repel invasions of Mussulmans and other barbarians. For the arrangement of commerce and other mutual interests, a Senate was to be appointed of four members from each of the larger and two from each of the smaller States, who should serve three years and be in constant session. It was suposed that, for local affairs, a part of these senators might meet separately from the others. On occasions of universal importance they would meet together." The army was to be provided in quotas agreed upon by the respective members. The "Design" was, says Dr. Hale, "to have made real perhaps for centuries the dying prayer of the Savior of the world, 'that they all may be one' and at the blow of a crazed fanatic this hope vanished for well nigh three centuries."

During Sully's lifetime and a generation before the Memoirs were published, Eméric Crusée, in 1623, published in Paris "Le Nouveau Cunée," which contained the first distinct proposal for substituting international arbitration for war. It was long supposed that the only existing copy of this remarkable work was in the Bibliothéque Nationale in Paris, but there was a copy, however, in the library of Charles Sumner, bequeathed to Harvard University, and which has now ben translated.

A century later Abbé Saint Pierre published his famous "Project for Settling Perpetual Peace in Europe." This work in three volumes was the most comprehensive and thorough presentation of the subject of the better organization of the world which had ever before that time appeared. A half century later

Rousseau revived the project of St. Pierre and devoted a book to it. In the nineteenth century no men in Europe were more vigorous and outspoken advocates of world organization than Victor Hugo, who hoped there might be a United States of Europe, and Frederic Passy, the fiery orator and winner of a Nobel prize, beloved by two generations who recall his venerable presence. As Bourgeois and Baron D'Estournelles and Charles Richet and the great French internationalist of today know full well, nothing could add more luster to the great French republic than for it to join hands with all democratic governments the world around in forming a League of Nations based on the principles which their great prophets have taught, from Pierre DuBois back in the days of Dante, down to the man representing France who has the honor to propose the embodiment of these principles in the Magna Charta of the world.

LUCIA AMES MEAD.

FENCES.

I have torn down all my fences:
The challenging air blows free;
I can look across the spaces
Where new life is hailing me;
My horizon is unrolling
Like the vistas of the sea.

I have torn down all my fences—
But I never can recall
The seclusion of my garden
With the world beyond the wall;
My old way of looking upward
Where the sky was all in all.

Independent. —*Louise Ayer Garnett.*

RUSSIA TO THE ALLIES.

You that allowed the crumbling Tsardom room,
Year after year that saw my exiles tread
By tens of thousands to their living tomb
In the Siberian waste, and no word said,
What mighty need has brought your armies now?

You that beheld my surging crowds lack food,
My peasants' dream of liberty turn gall
And wormwood of another servitude,
Yet sate not in the judgment-seat at all,
What mighty need has brought your armies now?

You that have seen the blood upon the snow
Of student and of worker, that have seen
Pogrom, espial, fraud and Cossack-blow
With never a demand to intervene,
What mighty need has brought your armies now?

You that afar off watched the abysmal fire
Of Revolution roll on ended night
Deep after deep the people's dumb desire,
And veiled your eyes from fierceness of the light,
What mighty need has brought your armies now?

I cast the sword away. The torch outshone;
I lifted it against my enemy.
With the authoritative dead alone
I stood the hour that you abandoned me.
What mighty need has brought your armies now?

Evangels of "Democracy," that fly
To me, the reaper of man's tragic good,
Your driven cities left to judge you by
And all the past you bore with fortitude,
What mighty need has brought your armies now?

The World Tomorrow. —*Viola C. White.*

THE PULPIT

Present-day Duties of the Churches

Address of the President, George Willis Cooke, at a Meeting of the Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice, Held in the Bullfinch Place Church, Boston, January 20, 1919.

The Unitarians of this country have always been in the forefront of all humanitarian and reformatory efforts for the amelioration of human conditions. Small in number, vigorously individualistic in spirit and purpose, they have never failed to contribute their full share towards making a better world for men, women and children.

Dr. Channing was in fullest sympathy with the humanitarian efforts of his time, friendly to the peace cause, and an ally of the opponents of slavery, cordial towards the Brook-farmers and the associationist movement, he was as forward-looking as to social problems as he was in theology.

That great preacher, Theodore Parker, was not only an anti-slavery leader, but he was friendly to every advance in social conviction and political liberalism known to his day. Advocating the cause of the slave, the worker, woman, and all who were oppressed, he made his pulpit ring with his cries for liberty and justice. Condemned by the conservatives of his time, treated sometimes as an extreme enemy of religion and sound government, read out of the domination by some who did not agree with him, he is now accepted as a typical Unitarian, and his heresies are forgotten.

No one can doubt that William Henry Channing was a Unitarian, and yet he was a Brook-farmer, and for several years was the preacher to an associationist (Socialist) church in Boston, which was continued for at least two or three years after the abandonment of Brook Farm. Fully abreast of his uncle and of Parker, he did not think Unitarianism in any sense incompatible with the fullest degree of radicalism in reform and demands for a better social world.

Such other typical Unitarians as James Freeman Clarke, Edward Everett Hale, and too many others to make it desirable to name them here, were foremost in their day in demanding and working for the reforms for which there was urgent call. In the work of alleviating poverty and securing its abolition, as represented by Dr. Tuckerman; in advocacy of temperance, in humane treatment of animals, in civil-service reform, in the peace movement, of which Dr. Channing was one of the earliest advocates, in care of the insane, in education of the blind, in the reform of prisons and the making them places where education and justice might find expression, Unitarians have from the beginning taken an active part. In every phase of the educational advance Unitarians have been in the lead.

It needs only a word to remind us what our predecessors have undertaken and accomplished in the directions indicated. We have no right to claim that all Unitarians have been friendly to these demands for social justice and for human progress; for intellectually and socially many among us have been very conservative, if not reactionary. Channing met with much opposition, and had not Parker been a born fighter it might have overwhelmed him in the midst of his great career. Broad and progressive in their

theology, leading the way in this sphere of human effort where many have followed, Unitarians have not unanimously favored those social reforms which their leaders have advocated from time to time.

What has been true of the past is true also of the present. If a majority believe in suffrage for women, the cause of labor, the abolition of the drink habit, it is certain that a minority refuse to give their assent to these reforms. If a minority believe in industrial democracy, in order to the securing of a genuine political democracy, and in Socialism for the furtherance of the same result, it is certain that the majority are strongly opposed to these demands.

Having regard to the spirit and the genius of Unitarianism, its history in the past, the fact that its reformers and its radicals have been canonized when they could no longer trouble the conservative interests of the majority, it may not be unseemly to raise the question as to whether it is wise at this day to persecute or to put the ban on those who call for new measures of social and political progress. May it not be true that those who are shunned and condemned today, will find themselves in the lead of the Unitarian movement not many years hence! Though we cannot be expelled for heresy, it is also true that we may be unwisely dealt with as unpatriotic and as traitors to the highest causes. In fact, however, our own consciences are clear, and we are certain that we have done nothing more than follow the duty which lay clearly before us.

We are living in a great time. A new world is coming into being, fresh forces are at work, new ideals are leading mankind. We cannot tread in the old paths if we would, and some of us have no desire to follow them.

The time for a world peace has come, when wars shall devastate men no more. That day Dr. Channing looked forward to, and we delight to regard ourselves as his disciples in this regard. We are wishing for the time when armies and navies shall disappear from among men throughout the world; and we will give no consent to the attempts to form a great national army and a bigger navy than that of any other country. When these instruments of war have been secured war will inevitably follow. They will not be allowed to go unused when they have been created and paid for.

The abolition of war demands the federation of the nations in the cause of peace. A league of free nations, which may in time include all nations, great and small, in order that the greater interests of mankind may be furthered in all parts of the world, is an urgent demand of this time. We are looking with longing eyes to Paris for the fulfillment in some degree of this hope of ours, for a world peace, and a brotherly protection of one nation by all others. In that consummation we see a great new era for mankind, a rapid progress in all that furthers the higher interests of civilization.

A restriction of war to the narrowest limits possible, by means of a league of nations, the world urgently needs, and the world must have. It must have peace also as between labor and capital, not a peace that retains the few in the saddle of power, but the peace which grants to all who toil the utmost of remuneration and opportunity. This means that labor shall be in league with capital by means of cooperation, industrial democracy, control of the resources of life by the state, or some other method for making capital in the hands of labor the instrument by which a higher civilization can be reached. Peace of this kind cannot come while most are exploited for the benefit of others or while a few are able to control the resources on which all are dependent.

In behalf of human welfare, and the progress of the nations, the demand is great that education shall be made truly universal. It is not enough to open the school house to all children to the age of eighteen, at the lowest limit, if a great proportion of them, because of poverty or the low wages of their parents, cannot take advantage of this kind of open door. What we need is that the state shall see to it that all children shall actually enter the schools and remain there until they are adequately trained for the duties of life and capable of self-support.

These are a few of the problems which are today before the world calling for our interest and our vigorous support. We ought to be foremost in advocating all such reforms, and every such measure looking to the industrial, social and ethical progress of mankind. We say that the object of the church is to produce character, but we have no right to forget that character is national as well as individual. When we have done all we can for the promotion of character in all the individuals we can reach, we have only begun our task of making character dominate throughout the nation and all the world around. When we see what is to be done by the church or what the church should set before itself as the ideal purpose it ever keeps before its eyes, we cannot be contented to say, We are character builders and can undertake no other task.

The moment we refuse to believe that the only object of the church is to save men for heaven, to introduce them to the good things of another life, we have made our task no other than that of making this present life noble and beautiful, a fit place for the residence of men, women and children. All the resources of the world may be fitly devoted to that great effort.

Can we for one moment doubt that such an effort may command all our fidelity, our loyalty, our enthusiasm, and our devotion? We have expended billions of dollars in order to make the world fit for democracy. In order to complete that task, is it not desirable that we shall be ready to expend like sums for education, for the securing of human welfare, for the abolition of poverty, for the elimination of disease, vice and crime? It may be that such tasks will not command the enthusiasm which war always calls forth; but is it not possible that they may be made as vigorous in appeal to the young and the patriotic, if the right means are used to make their desirability known to all the people? The crusade against intemperance, which has met with such great success, may give us a standard by which to measure the possibility of carrying forward such other crusades as will make successful all these other reforms.

Ought it not to come home to us as Unitarians that such efforts as these should call to us with an appeal we cannot refuse to heed? We may well march in the vanguard of such endeavors, and give them our combined and loyal support. Indeed, we may truly say to ourselves that this is the inmost meaning of our conception of religion. When we hold back from

such endeavors, condemn those who seek to promote them, are we not betraying our own faith, and proving disloyal to our own profession of religious purpose!

What this Fellowship can accomplish is very little, but we are here that we may remind the Unitarians of America of the deeds of their fathers, of the spirit of their own profession of religion, and of the greatness of the opportunities for human service which are before us as foremost of all religious bodies in our purpose to promote every humanitarian cause and every genuine reform.

The Lutheran Church and Bolshevism

The New York Evening Sun for January 27th reports that ten thousand Lutheran churches in the United States are about to enter on a campaign against Bolshevism under the general auspices of the National Lutheran Council. This announcement comes from Philadelphia where the Reverend Dr. O. H. Pannkoke, director of "this Lutheran forward movement," has sounded a call to arms.

Under normal conditions we would be careful to make allowance for possible sensational treatment by unscrupulous journalists, and our judgment of this report would be softened by some recollection of our own experiences at the hands of these untruthful agents. But in the present case we must accept the whole representation as true and accurate for Dr. Pannkoke allows himself to be quoted. He says: "The rising tide of Bolshevism is threatening the foundations of society." There can be no dodging, kind or unkind in intention, on so definite a statement. Dr. Pannkoke is sincere, he has really taken up his "shining sword" to do battle with what he believes is a real danger.

If Dr. Pannkoke had added the words "as they are" immediately after his phrase about "the foundations of society," we could have agreed with him instantly. For we believe that "the foundations of society as they are" must be changed. The foundations, mark you; not the tower nor spire nor top story, but the actual bed-rock on which society stands. We believe a thorough change must be accomplished immediately,—not one instant's delay save at most fearful cost to all the people of the world,—because those foundations are false. We have been building on sand, our house is falling, Christ's splendid parable is true.

Whether or not Bolshevism is the solution of our troubles we cannot say,—because, frankly, we do not know enough about Bolshevism as yet to be able to judge it fairly. We are more candid than our Lutheran brother; we do not have a complete understanding of Bolshevism and we admit it; Dr. Pannkoke is in the same boat but he will not admit it.

We do not know exactly whether Bolshevism means what its enemies say of it or what its friends say of it or neither one of the two. We only know that it is a philosophy of life and social revolution and adjustment that seems to have amazing vitality and resistance. It is now a fact, not merely a theory. Not only that, but members of the United States Senate and others who ought to know about such things tell us that it is growing in power and strength every minute. Premier Lloyd George said the other day: "The Soviets are supported by two-thirds of the people of Russia; we will have to deal with them some day." We must recognize the fact, then, that the good Dr. Pannkoke has no small task on his hands, he is fighting a young enemy possessed of enormous resourcefulness. In other words, it may be said to be a case of the two and one-half million Lutherans in America undertaking to vanquish and put to flight the one hundred twenty-one and one-half million Bolsheviki in Russia. It will be a long, hard fight.

But the necessity for such a fight we do not as yet concede. Granted that Bolshevism is an *extreme* social doctrine, that conservative critics are severe in their condemnation of the whole movement, that persons of more liberal inclinations are puzzled over its exact meaning, it still remains true that the experiment is as yet in its infancy, that its present works may not be judged as truly representative of what is proposed for the future. We have all seen old shacks torn down to make room for fine new buildings, we have seen weeds torn up to make room for roses. The Soviets seem to be weeding their garden. We must not judge their roses by their weeds. We should not like the Russians to judge America and American democracy by the Lynching of Leo Frank or that of Frank Little, by the outrageous attack on the person of Dr. Herbert Bigelow or by the raid on the peace meeting at Baltimore at which Dr. David Starr Jordan was speaking, by Lawrence, Mass., or Homestead, Pa., of Bayonne, Paterson in the President's own state, by our supreme court on the subject of Child Labor or Free Speech. No; we Americans demand that in any judgment passed upon us as a people by any people of Europe the good things in our life and character shall be considered as well as the things that are not good. Russia has a right to make the same demand of us; we have no right to judge the Bolsheviki by their faults alone. No people are quite perfect. "What do we men know of innocence?"

We hold no special brief for the Soviets. As we have said above, we do not have a thorough knowledge of their philosophy. We submit, however, that Dr. Pannkoke has not visited Russia, that he knows no more of the situation there than we do, that his judgment may be faulty. We dare to read and take into consideration both sides of the present case; can Dr. Pannkoke say the same for his own position? We know that several score of Americans have visited Russia since the Soviets came into power and we have their testimony to the effect that the people of Russia are being misrepresented by the fugitive retainers of the late Czar who have reached England, France and America. We know that there is a propaganda bureau in New York which works day and night to injure the cause of the Bolsheviki in the mind and heart of America and we know that that bureau is presided over by persons who are not friendly to any progressive ideal, brutal autocrats are they, remnants of the old Russia that is gone forever. We know that Col. Thompson, the Wall Street banker who visited Soviet Russia for the American Red Cross, has written a book in praise of the Bolshevik revolution. We know that John Reed and his wife, Louise Bryant, sympathize with the Soviets; honest people these two brilliant jouralists, not easily deceived in any matter. We know that the Sisson documents were admitted to be unreliable by the Chairman of the Committee on Public Information which gave them out. We know that Raymond Robbins has been forbidden to speak of what he saw in Russia; if he knows anything evil

about the Bolsheviki why does not the State Department allow him to tell it? We know that Dr. Albert Rhys Williams, late of The Outlook; Miss Bessie Beatty, of McCalls Magazine; Ernest Poole, the noted novelist, and many others visited Russia during the past year and that they approve the Bolsheviki and support the Soviet ideal. We know that *The Nation, The Dial, The New Republic* and many other reliable papers have printed dozens of editorials favoring a more tolerant attitude on our part to the virtues in the Bolshevik program. We know, in brief, that there are two sides to this problem and that those who have been in Russia favor the Soviets.

The charges brought against the Bolsheviki are for the most part generalities such as would not be allowed standing room in any court in America. To charge that a whole people of nearly two hundred million individuals are murderers is hysterical. There are people in Russia who agree with the Soviets and who have never fired a gun. No one denies that there have been executions in Russia and seizures of property. We execute criminals and traitors in America and seize their property. Is it wrong to take back from the thief the substance he has stolen? Is it wrong to punish treason? Answer truly. We cannot have one standard of conduct for ourselves and our friends and another for our foes.

We remember how, when we were little children, we used to be afraid of the dark. But when our mother lit the lamp and the shadows fled away we soon saw that there was nothing to fear. We have met some persons, recently, who fear the light as we once feared the dark. They, too, will see that there is nothing to fear. Only the drone and the thief need be afraid of a drastic social change; honest people have nothing to fear from justice.

If Bolshevism is bad, if it is wrong, Dr. Pannkoke will not need to get up a special campaign for the use of Lutherans only to fight it. The point is that we should be certain that Bolshevism is bad before we start firing, for if by any chance it is not bad, but good on the contrary, it will prosper on our opposition as good always prospers. If Bolshevism is bad, it will perish. If it is good, we should not try to fight it; instead, we should try to help it.

For the present, however, we must in fairness and in love of the Gentle Master, be slow in judgment and in anger. What would be our shame if the future were to show that this great experiment in far-away Muscovy is one of the superb achievements of mankind and that it triumphed in spite of our opposition? No one wants to see Truth and turn aside in fear from the glorious brightness of its light. No one cares to be outcast. Judas is the saddest of tragedies,—the Betrayer. Let us tread carefully here. There is a tradition that Russia is holy ground.

JAMES WALDO FAWCETT.

As the most generous vine, if it be not pruned, runs into many superfluous stems and grows at last weak and fruitless, so doth the best man if he be not cut short of his desires and pruned with afflictions. If it be painful to bleed, it is worse to wither. Let me be pruned that I may grow, rather than cut up to burn.

Joseph Hall.

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III.—The Rosetta Stone

He who would make conquest of the life hereafter must first make it in his own soul.

—James H. Breasted.

To study the Rosetta Stone is to get at the process of decipherment which first disclosed the history of the East to modern man. We do not often stop to think that our great grandfathers know nothing about the East and the process of development which preceded the civilization of the Greeks. It is a great loss to view mankind as having suddenly emerged instead of realizing that he has been and is creating, developing, and is continuing in his progress. We now know that we are building on what our ancestors created and that it is possible to determine the steps in the development of the past. The archeologists and the biologists are today working hand in hand and they have made it possible to carry the history of early man, without any great gap, from the pre-man to the present.

In 1798 Napoleon went to Egypt and, perhaps consciously imitating Alexander, took with him a body of scholars. Though leading men of learning and linguistic attainment, not one of these men could read an Egyptian document. That was about 1800 A. D. What had happened? The Nile Valley had been repeatedly invaded, the Mohammedans had come in in ever-increasing numbers. The ancient Egyptian language had died out and Arabic had taken its place and is the native tongue of the present day Egyptian. When Napoleon's expedition went there the old Egyptian had been a dead language for centuries. The last man who could read the Egyptian hieroglyphics had been dead over a thousand years. Scholars were helpless before these strange signs made up of household utensils, artisan's tools, birds, etc. The Greeks, although great investigators after Aristotle's day, were strangely derelict in their treatment of Egyptian writing. They have left not a single treatise bearing on the Egyptian language.

The Rosetta Stone, now in the British Museum, was found by one of Napoleon's officers, Boussard, when excavating for trenches east of Alexandria, at Fort St. Julian, near Rosetta, which is the name of one of the mouths of the Nile. Two years afterwards Egypt fell into the hands of Great Britain and the English secured this stone. The learned men of Europe thought at once that they could decipher this mysterious old inscription but they failed.

The changes which had taken place in the language of Egypt might be explained by what is happening in

our own country. In the old New England town which contains Brown University, a rock-bound stronghold of our Anglo-Saxon forefathers, tax notices, for the benefit of a polyglot population, may be found written in French, Italian and English. That illustrates what happened in Egypt. Greek merchants came in and it became necessary to publish important notices both in Greek and Egyptian. Hence when the priests of Memphis wished to issue a decree in honor of Ptolemy V in 196 or 195 B. C. they were obliged to use the two languages. Such is the Rosetta Stone.

However, there were in Egypt at that time two current methods of writing. One the rapid, running hand, so abbreviated as to be almost shorthand, demotic, and the hieroglyphic, traditional, having but little significance in the life of the people. The upper part of the Rosetta Stone was occupied by the hieroglyphic, followed by the demotic, both Egyptian, and the Greek below, representing one decree. Curiously this shorthand did not find readers and the Rosetta Stone did not furnish the first step in deciphering Egyptian hieroglyphics.

On the Island of Philæ, at the south end of the temple, once stood two obelisks, not large. One of them has been moved to England and the other still stands there. Members of Napoleon's Expedition and other travelers carried away many things of value among which were copies of the inscriptions on these obelisks. On the bases of the obelisks scholars found inscriptions in Greek and down the column a hieroglyphic inscription. Jean Francois Champollion, a young Frenchman, an Oriental scholar, born in 1790 and only forty-two years old when he died, had been devoting himself to the study of the Coptic, the newest of Oriental religions. Coptic is simply the latest form of Egyptian writing in Greek letters instead of the hieroglyphs. Curiously enough the Egyptian alphabet wandered towards the eastern end of the Mediterranean to Phoenicia, over all western Asia, then westward towards Greece, Rome, and as far as the British Isles. Egypt furnished all the civilized languages of antiquity with an alphabet, even the Sanskrit. After the alphabet had gotten back to Egypt began the writing of Egyptian in Greek letters, Coptic from the word "Copt," an abbreviation of the word Egypt.

One may go to Coptic churches in Egypt, hear the priests read the services in old Egyptian, written in Greek letters, pronounced with the sounds of the Greek alphabet, in a language no longer understood by the people and then find the same language on the walls of temples.

As in reading Chaucer and Spencer the student at first is unable to recognize the commonest English word because of its spelling, so Champollion was trying to decipher a language removed from him by a gulf of time so wide that he could not get across it. He failed. Everybody at first failed to read the Rosetta Stone. But he had been persistent in his studies and when Napoleon's expedition brought back their valuable finds, among them the hieroglyphic and Greek inscriptions from the obelisks, Champollion reading the Greek inscription concluded that the whole monument was erected in honor of Ptolemy and that somewhere on the monuments the names Ptolemy and Cleopatra would appear. He found two ovals or cartouches which a Scotch scholar had already shown were always used to contain royal names. Champollion concluding that these hieroglyphs spelled the names Ptolemy and Cleopatra compared them with the Greek spelling for Ptolemy, Ptolemaios and Kleopatra. The first letter in the name Ptolemy, *P*, he found to be the fifth letter in Kleopatra's name. In his next comparison he was at first disturbed because the second letter *T* did not prove to be the same as the seventh letter in Kleopatra, but he found that the writing was a second form of the same letter. The next two signs, Nos. 3 and 4, compared exactly with Nos. 4 and 2 in Kleopatra. He found himself on the right track. All this was done in an afternoon, after years of toil. He immediately set to work on other proper names with success. He had proved that the Egyptians possessed an alphabet and had also learned the sounds of twelve of the letters. He had proved that the Egyptian was not picturegraphic only, nor symbolic, but phonetic and that it contained alphabetic signs. He later found that it also had signs that stood for more than one letter, five or six hundred curious word signs, many of which represent a whole group of letters. Champollion had laid the foundation for completing the decipherment of Egyptian inscriptions by the aid of the Rosetta Stone which he then for the first time knew how to use.

Much work has been done since the time of Champollion. Just as there are many words in the Hebrew, Greek and Latin the meaning of which is not settled, so is it much more true of the Egyptian. Language is ever fluid, always in the process of manufacture.

There is today on file in the Royal Museum in Berlin an index containing hundreds of thousands of cards, each containing an Egyptian word with its context, evidence of a vast work, occupying twenty-five years, accomplished by a group of scholars of which Professor Breasted was one. To him was given the task of examining all Egyptian documents in the museums of Europe. The manuscript is now "somewhere in Germany."

In 1822 Champollion finished his demonstration and took the whole country by storm although there were people who doubted his work. But in the early '40's of the last century scholars were able to read the hieroglyphics without seeing the Greek portion and demonstrated clearly the validity of Champollion's translation. In 1832 he wrote a little grammar and a small dictionary, historic documents which are long since out of print and which should be published in fac simile.

These are the steps by which we have been enabled to read the documents of the East, to carry back the career of man to the dawning of history where we link up with the prehistoric situation of 50,000, perhaps 150,000, years ago. We see the development of the ability to record for future generations the ideas of the soul, to render the spiritual life in permanent record.

QUESTIONS.

(1) To the discovery of what stone are we indebted for our knowledge of Egyptian life?

(2) Tell the story of Champollion.

(3) Where did the first alphabet arise?

(4) What would you say of the importance of the invention of writing?

THE FIELD

"The World is my country, to do Good is my Religion"

NOTABLE ADDRESSES AT ALL SOULS CHURCH, CHICAGO.

The Sunday morning talks at All Souls Church recently have been upon topics of vital present-day importance. On January 26, Miss Jane Addams spoke upon "The Present Russian Situation in Relation to Tolstoi's Teachings," showing how through many, many generations the passion of the Russian peasant has been for the land, how all the time he has had the feeling that the land ought to belong to him. Through the long regime of serfdom and later since the freeing of the serfs, the relation of the peasant to the land has been so close that no system of government which did not intend to return the land to the people could stand in Russia. No matter whether Milukhof or Kerensky or Lenine was at the head of the Russian government, said Miss Addams, each would have had to yield to the demand of the peasants for the land. Tolstoi, of course, felt and taught and lived this very completely, refusing to eat or to spend aught that he did not himself produce by the labor of his own hands from the land on which he lived. And in the present Revolution, Miss Addams said, the peasants, in taking over the land, have been very careful not to touch the landlord's house or his tools, which they felt they had no right to. They are also very careful to make a fair and exact division of the land among themselves. Miss Addams also told of recent favorable reports brought from Russia by Dr. Richman and Miss Bessie Beatty (whose recent book on the Russian Revolution is most illuminating), and spoke, as do all unprejudiced persons interested in the science of government, of the very valuable experiment in a new form of government which is being made over there. The Soviet Government, she said, is a logical development in Russia of the age-long village or community life of the peasant in the *mere* and seems peculiarly adapted to conditions of life there.

Miss Addams referred to the popular detestation of anything like grafting among public officials—a feeling bred of long years of corrupt government under the various Czars—and told of the actual brutality with which the peasants in one village treated an official whom they suspected of unfair dealings.

On February 2, Professor Frederick Starr of the University of Chicago spoke of Central America and his travels there twenty-three years ago and again last year. He outlined the four great disadvantages under which these republics labor: great wealth and richness of soil with large and "progressive" neighboring states; disease; earthquakes; and mis-government. Guatemala, with its 75 per cent pure Indian population and its rich soil, has become a valuable field for exploitation by foreign capitalists who have acquired large coffee plantations, and work them by means of the Indians whom they hold in virtual slavery on these plantations. The effort of the President some years ago to benefit the country by building a new railroad was thwarted first by a Congress bought up by the money of the Western Pacific Mail Company who wished only the one existing outlet to the country which favored their steamship lines and later by a revolution financed by their money; finally the President was killed.

Professor Starr spoke of the outside interference in the affairs of these republics, such as, for example, the maintenance in Nicaragua of the armed forces of the U. S. from 1912 until the present day. Nicaragua, said Dr. Starr, elected the last president by her own choice — a three-fourths majority — in 1909—and he left a goodly surplus in the treasury and gave a fine administration. Since then elections have been made to suit the United States Government, and the nation has been run into debt to the great New York banking concerns who loan it money to carry on the government. The United States demanded from Nicaragua the exclusive right to purchase another canal route through that state and a coaling station on an island in the Gulf of Fonseca, the price for these being greatly needed by Nicaragua to meet her debts to the New York Banks.

The United States had also urged upon these countries the establishment of an Arbitration Court. But when Salvador and Honduras, who jointly with Nicaragua own the Gulf of Fonseca, protested against the sale to the U. S. of the coaling station, and the Court upheld them in their protest, the United States refused to accept the decision of the Court. The great need of these republics, said Professor Starr, is opportunity for self-determination.

Q.

RAYMOND ROBINS SPEAKS!

(From the Butte Daily Bulletin, Nov. 23, 1918).

"I am on a Government mission and my mouth is closed, but I have the entire documentary history of the Russian revolution hidden in a dozen safe-deposits in as many cities, and when this thing is over I am going to write that history. Lenine and Trotzky are men actuated and upheld in their tremendous task by the inspiration of an ideal, and the charge that they are German agents is absolutely false. I have documents signed by Lenine and Trotzky ordering out the Red Guards to resist the German invasion. I have documents signed by them ordering the entire supply of platinum transported into the interior, where it could not fall into German hands; I have similar documents ordering the supply of grain to be disposed of in a like manner. All Russia needed was economic aid, shoes, farming and agricultural machinery. I wanted the Government to extend that aid to her, but I arrived too late; the policy of intervention was already decided upon. The Soviets wished to exchange their platinum, a metal needed in great quantities for the manufacture of munitions, and their copper, for shoes, machinery and factory equipment. That was all the aid they needed, and it would have made possible a successful resistance of the German invasion. Again, I say I was too late. I believe that Baron Reading, the English ambassador, McAdoo, Burleson and Attorney-General Gregory are the men who prevailed upon President Wilson to give his consent to armed intervention, a policy that was dictated more by the attitude of the French and English Governments than a desire to do justice to Russia. It would do no good to publish the evidence I have in my possession now, until the wave of hysteria has subsided. When the war is over I intend to write the true history of the Russian revolution.

"There is no international force in Russia that can overthrow the Soviets; they have the backing of the overwhelming majority of the Russian people, but by blockading the Russian ports, the Allies may be able to strangle the Soviets; whether they are able to do so or not, the Soviet form of Government is the only real Government of the Workers that has yet been established, and it is the mother of all the coming Working-Class Governments."

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—*J. W. Scholl.*

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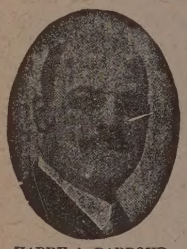

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